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been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being.

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

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The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity.

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In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed.

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It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched.

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From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work).

4

Learning English

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The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization

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555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

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194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

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[214] In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native
[177] English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare.
876 A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clerku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

[4] It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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871 177 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults attended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today [191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 5% of Taira's population.

872 346 [871] The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village, where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be- [514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

● 876 [533] Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kindergarten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized themselves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile, for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with, "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ." There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered
876 to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children, she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spontaneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick, saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!"

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name.

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time.

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game
[524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines
872 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
● 876 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
858 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk.

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow."

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier.

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort.

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to

[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school."

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates.

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place.

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated.

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it.

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and
[365] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
976 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment.

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets.

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles.

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!"

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872 The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins
[876] to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to
264 eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event
[863] of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch
855 boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village.

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet.

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly.

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

> The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

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872 876 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "*Hai* (yes)," and when called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the teacher just points to somebody else and says, "*Hai*," until someone gives the right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl. Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to read off. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volunteers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 [875] Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relationship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems. The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner. A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 876 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruction, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

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left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations.

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning.

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ-

ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate model.

Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress? Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the affirmative.

At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers' supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

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ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training.

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway."

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

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866 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample
876 of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At
858 home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.' " None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

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have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead. The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment. The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay, more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents, expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk.

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community.

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings.

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

875 554 178 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success, but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

• 876 [871] Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[885] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 178 875 [177] No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa. Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is considerably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

000 The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 554 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

● 876 177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

876 177 212 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible so that the students might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but rewritten as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to discarding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resistance than it would meet with in Japan.

212 177 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construction of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who, after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents---perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected---might have shaken their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer capable of writing proper Japanese.

876 177 871 As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum beginning at the Fifth Grade. It apears to be taught in most cases by persons who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. Moreover, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English. 876 177

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in persons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive. If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day? 212 177 [554] 000

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.